father's brother and sister, of the same generation, and also to their children. *Attai* will be found again in the second descending generation. The corresponding Tamil forms are *appaṉ*, *ammāḷ*, *aṇṇaṉ*, *aṇṇi*, and *attai*. The last is the same as the Skaane (*a*)*attai*, father's father. *Kiḻavi* means 'old woman', and is related to the Skaane (*reg*)*ieke*. Women use *kuṭṭa* and *kuṭṭi* for father's and mother's parents.

5. The First Ascending Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation we have *puṟa* which covers the father, father's brother, and mother's sister's husband; and *aiyi*, which includes the mother, mother's sister, and father's brother's wife (though mother's sister is sometimes called *puṟavi*). *Mama* includes mother's brother and mother's brother's wife. The father's sister is *pudai*, a term applied also to the wives of father's brother's son, father's sister's son, brother, and mother's sister's son, as well as to wife's sister, all in the speaker's generation, and implying that the women so called are in the same category as the father's sister, i.e. one of respect. The father's sister's husband is called *kuṭṭi*, which is applied also to the husband of the father's brother's daughter, father's sister's daughter, sister, mother's brother's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and to the wife's brother. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pudai*. The word *puṟa* is so wide-spread that its use is not significant. *Aiyi* — Tamil *aiyi*, Skaane *aeiye*, a word found with this meaning in most of the Tamil dialects. *Pudai* does not occur in Tamil or Skaane, and may be a relic of the original Dravidian terminology. *Kuṭṭi* — Tamil *kuṭṭi*, 'woman', and may be connected with the Skaane phrase *a mindani a mujk*, "respected sister in law" (brother's wife and wife's sister), for *mujk* is the etymological equivalent of *kuṭṭi*.

(woman speaking)

Puṟa and *aiyi* are used for father and mother, and *puṟa* also = father's brother, and *aiyi* = mother's sister. But father's sister and father's brother's wife are called *aiyāḷ*; mother's brother is *aṇṇaiyaṉ* and his wife *aiyi*; while father's sister's husband and mother's sister's husband are *kuṭṭi*. *Aṇṇaiyaṉ* is from the Skaane *aṇṇa* = 'mother's brother' (woman speaking), a word formed from *aṇṇi*, (same meaning, man speaking). *Kuṭṭi*, it may be noted, is a common term for a male relative by marriage, and is used by men as well as women.

6. The Generation

(man speaking)

In this generation a man's relatives are grouped in three classes: (1) *Kiravāḷi*, which comprises his brother and sister, and his mother's sister's son and daughter; (2) *Mama*, his mother's brother's son and daughter;

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and (3) *Mwanke*, the sons and daughters of both his father's brother and his father's sister. There is thus a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, and a divergence from the Nandi usage. That the mother's brother's children count as women may be due to Nandi influence, for, as we shall see, the mother's brother is not the relative of importance to the Dorobo that he is to the Nandi. *Kimondo* is a word meaning 'brother, sister' which occurs in other Nandi dialects, though not in Nandi itself, and may possibly be derived from the verb *kwon* 'carry a child', in being one of the duties of a child, especially of a girl, to carry about its small brother or sister.

(woman speaking)

According to feminine terminology, these relatives are grouped in four classes, with a change of term: (1) *Kimondo*, brother and sister; (2) *Ayakoiyo*, mother's brother's children; (3) *Mwanke*, the children of both father's brother and father's sister; (4) *Siyo*, the children of mother's sister.

8. The First Descending Generation

(man speaking)

The children of a man and his brothers are all called *ajaa*; but the children of his sister and of his mother's brother's children are *mamo*, his sister's son having also the alternative term of *mwisi ap ogiik*, which means 'son of the girl', and is applied in Nandi to father's sister's son who is otherwise called *mamo*. The Dorobo grouping which places the sister's children in the mother's brother's category is unusual and there is here a wide divergence from the Nandi rule.

(woman speaking)

A woman calls her children *kokwet*, 'child'; her brother's and sister's children are *ongo*; the children of her mother's brother's children, *ebei*; and the children of her mother's sister's children are *siyo*. The term *ongo* in Nandi means 'sister of a parent', and refers to the father's sister; in Dorobo it is applied to the reciprocal, the brother's son, and is extended to the sister's son. It is also used, as in Nandi, as a term of endearment to small children.

We now return to the children, male and female, of the father's brother's children and of the father's sister's children, all of whom are called *mwanke*. According to statements made independently by four different Dorobo men, a man may marry one of the girls whom he calls *mwanke*, that is, his father's sister's daughter's daughter (the daughter of his cross-cousin).

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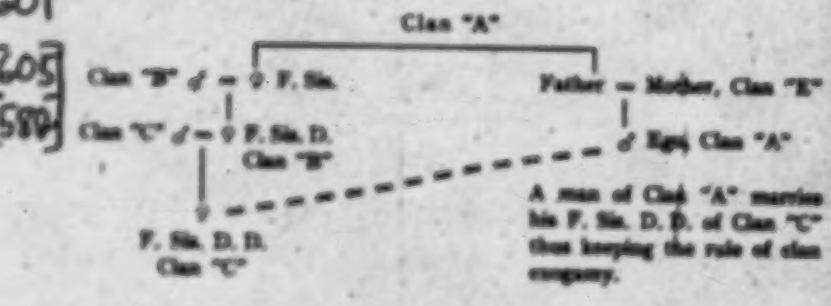
[205] [588]


Clan "A"
Clan "B" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis.
Father — Mother, Clan "E"
Clan "C" ♂ — ♀ F. Sis. D. Clan "B"
♂ Egi, Clan "A"
♀
F. Sis. D. D. Clan "C"
A man of Clan "A" marries his F. Sis. D. D. of Clan "C" thus keeping the rule of clan exogamy.

This statement was not supported by any of my genealogies; but this does not necessarily mean that the practice was never followed, and my informants insisted that this type of marriage was not only allowed, but actually took place in the past. On the other hand, they said that marriage with any other kind of cousin within the *tilat* was "very bad". In actual fact, however, marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter was probably not common, even in the past, and to-day would be quite impossible, partly from disparity of age (though this is not in itself a serious bar), and partly from the shortage of women and lack of wealth. If a man was a *Siyangi*, he might be about forty years old, and his *mandet* would be perhaps ten, uninitiated, and too young to cohabit; she would therefore be suitable only as a second wife, a luxury out of the reach of most Dorobo. An equally serious objection lies in the fact that owing to the small number of clans, a man's *mandet* may often be of his own clan and thus barred from marriage with him.

6. The Second Descending Generation

(*man speaking*)

The term *akui* covers most of this generation: it includes the children of one's own children (grandchildren), children of brother's and sister's children, children of father's brother's grandchildren, and children of father's sister's grandchildren. The children of mother's brother's grandchildren are *nanua*, and of the mother's sister's grandchildren, *kwanda*. Thus a man's own grandchildren are classed as grandparents.

[603]

(*woman speaking*)

Grandchildren are *ajwa*; grandchildren of brother and sister are *wuga*, and of mother's sister, *aiya*; the rest are *akui*.

AFFINALS:

(*man speaking*)

Wife is *mamwiat*; wife's brother, *kwayi*, and his wife, *pakwa*; wife's sister, *pakwa*, and her husband, *kipakwiat*. Wife's parents are *famwaa* (m.) and *pakwa* (f.). Wife's brother's and sister's children are *ajwa* (m.) and *pakwa* (f.).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

a Nandi, and her husband is spoken of with less respect than Kicoti's, though both men are referred to as *kenyit*. Their children are called *mama*.

His father's sister Cepulpul and her husband Turiepuku are both dead, and if he speaks of them it is by the terms *pakat* and *kenyit*; but her son son Kipkoiec is, as *marakor*, on the same footing as Leii and Kimaiyo, the sons of his father's elder brother Kaela, allowing for the difference of age-set. Pilo is a *Nyongi*, as also is Leii; but Kimaiyo is a *Maisa*. On the other hand, Kimaiyo is a policeman, which somewhat outweighs the difference. Cepkemoi and Ceeub, the daughters of Pilo's father's younger brother Kiptoo have lowered themselves to a certain extent in old-fashioned Dorobo eyes by marrying Nandi (though Dorobo-Nandi marriage has been practised for a long time), and they live at a distance. The wife of Leii and the husband of Cepkumuren, Pilo's other *marakor*, are both Dorobo, and although they live near the forest, there is a good deal of intercourse between their families. All these people are spoken of as *marakoreneyon*, and addressed as *marakoreneni*, *marakor*, or by name. Their spouses are spoken of as *kenyit*. Though Kimaiyo Arap Mining, the husband of Cepkumuren, is *kenyit* to Pilo, his relatives are outside the *tilet* as far as Pilo himself is concerned (though not of course for Cepkumuren), and this applies also to the relatives of his sisters' husbands; such people when on terms of friendship and visiting are addressed and referred to by name, or they may be spoken to by the word *leiye*, a general term of address to any person of either sex with whom one is friendly. An old woman like Ceukirikai, Arap Mining's mother (not named in the genealogy), would not be addressed as *leiye*, however, but as *koko* "grandmother" or *cepiononi*, "old woman", though not related in any way, but out of respect because Pilo is a friend of Arap Mining, and often meets his relatives, including Ceukirikai.

Kaela and Kiptoo, the brother's of Pilo's father, lived for many years at Cepkunyuk, four miles from Kiptarakom, close to and inside the boundary of the Nandi Reserve; but in 1929 they went to live in Soaniyo near the forest. At that time, both of them were more active than their brother Kipkatam (Pilo's father) who, if he had been a European, would have been described as "bed-ridden"; and for practical purposes Kaela took the place of a father to Pilo and his brothers and sisters. Kipkatam was deaf, nearly blind, almost speechless, and hardly able to move; so when Pilo wanted to consult anyone, he turned to Kaela, or if he was away, to the slightly younger Kiptoo.

It will be seen that a sister's children are not *apaa*, like a brother's, but *mama*. Pilo's sister's children are a typical case. They live at a distance, and so are as remote from him as all the descendants of his mother's brother (*mama*) Nekoi who, with his wife and his son in law Kilaeya and his family, lives at Ngetyekeng on the far side of the forest and has little to do with Pilo. Moreover, the only link between Pilo and Nekoi, his mother Kemarie, is there no longer, for she died some years ago; so Nekoi and his family are just spoken of as *mama* — when it is necessary to speak of them at all, for though they exist they count very little in Pilo's life.

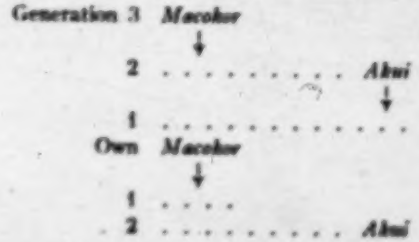
Between Pilo and his brother Cuimin there is a good deal of inter-

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

593 [888] course. They live in the same settlement, they are *papa* to each other's children, they both look after old Kipkatam, and they have the joint responsibility of feeding him as well as their own families. They are *kesenda* in name and in fact. But the existence of a remoter *kesenda* group, the children of the mother's sister, shows how the term may mislead if the circumstances are not known and if it is not realized how much depends on proximity. [605] Both their mother's sister's sons Kikoror and Tote live on the other side of the country at Ngatepkong, and Kikoror moreover dwells inside the forest; between them and Pilo intercourse is rare, and relationship might not exist. In practice, of course, Pilo would refer to them as *kesendannyon* and would greet them as *kesenda* or by name; but in the absence of proximity the intercourse would be limited to mere greeting.

602 The *akui* group includes three sets of people: (A) parents of father and mother; (B) father's father's brother and sister and their children; and (C) all of the second descending generation except the great grandchildren of the mother's brother and sister.

603 601 (A) The senior *akui* at the time when I collected the genealogies which form the basis of this study were all dead. The real *akui* are the father's father and the mother's father (their wives being *koko*), and these two are often referred to as *kuko* as well as *akui*. When Pilo said, "My *akui* was Kimngamngam", or "my *akui* was Mereua", his statement was amplified by saying who they were: *akui ko papa nepo papa, kuko ko papa nepo eiyo*, "*akui* is the father of my father, *kuko* is the father of my mother". (B) But the brother's and sisters of the *kuko* or *koko* (none were recorded on the maternal side) are referred to as *akui* by courtesy, and this courtesy is extended to their children (people of father's generation) but not to lower generations. So Arap Lemando was merely *leiye* or "Arap Lemando" to Pilo, though his father and grandfather were *akui*; and between Pilo and Arap Lemando there was no relationship. (C) The third descending generation, the children of Pilo, his brother's children, his sister's children, and those of his father's brother, and his father's sister, are all *akui* also; but no descendant of the mother's brother or sister is called *akui*. This term, it will be seen, has a symmetrical alternation from the second ascending to the second descending generation, that is, from grandfather to grandson; *macokor* has an asymmetrical alternation from the third ascending generation to own's own, being extended in both cases to the next generation below:



4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Between a man and the members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed. As the Dorobo put it, *Kicupakei, kiurerencinkei, kiilencinkei, 'Kumin kon, ngut kum kamat', amu ki lakok.* ("We use bad language to one another, we play together, we say to each other, 'May your father lie with you, or may you lie with your mother', because we are children", i. e. we are all of the same age.) These rude phrases, however, must never be used to elders, and to do so is very shameful; but spoken to members of one's own age-set or generation they are quite harmless and have no sinister implications. Between the sexes of the same generation there may be a perfectly innocuous intimacy, between brother and sister, between *macokor, mama*, and *kesenda*, which allows any kind of joking and language but stops short of actual sexual intercourse; and in spite of this license, such evidence as there was indicated that incest was not common. Between members of the same generation, especially in youth and early middle age, there is also a strong bond in the shape of mutual help and support among those who live near each other, extending to all departments of home life. The effect of propinquity must not be overlooked, and the claims of even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen may be reduced to insignificance.

The general attitude of a man's own children to the children of his *macokor*, his *mama*, and his *kesenda*, is the same, in that they are all like his own children, who may be played with or reproved when necessary, but without the use of any bad language or abuse. To those children to whom he is 'father's brother' there is of course the special attitude that I have already described. But between members of this generation there is a marked terminological difference:

so that by classification all the children on the father's side are *macokor*, while those on the mother's side are both *mama* and *kesenda*; and a man's own children are *apaa*, while those of his sister are *mama*. When the children are small these differences are merely nominal and not apparent; but as they grow older a distinction tends to arise between those on the father's side and those on the mother's side, especially between *macokor* and *mama*; and this is emphasized by the possibility that a man might marry his *macokor* (father's sister's daughter's daughter), even if he seldom or never does so in fact.

Between a man and the second descending generation there is a relationship of respect, for terminologically his grandchildren are equated with his grandfather. In practice, however, this generation counts as far as he

[P185,B]

applied also to the husbands of F. Br. D., F.Sis.D., Sis., M.Br. D., M.Sis.D., and to W.Br. It is therefore the male equivalent of *pukot*. 601

Second Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F., F.M., and M.F., M.M.=*KUKO, koko*, and also *AGWI, agwi*, the latter applied by courtesy to F.F.Br., M.F.Br., F.F.Sis., M.F.Sis., and their children.

Third Ascending Generation.

(1) F.F.F., F.F.M., F.M.F., F.M.M., M.F.F., M.F.M., M.M.F., M.M.M.=*MACHOKOR, makikat*.

Ego's own Generation.

(1) Br., Sis., M.Sis.S., M.Sis.D.=*KESENDA, Kesenda*, linking these two groups in a br.—sis. relationship.

(2) M.Br. S., M.Br. D.=*MAMA, mama*, as M.Br.

(3) F.Br. S., F.Br. D., F.Sis. S., F.Sis.D.=*MACHOKOR, machokor*.

There is here a sharp distinction between cousins on the father's and the mother's side, the former being linked with 3rd ascending and 1st descending generations, the latter with one's brothers and sisters. [605]

First Descending Generation.

(1) Children both ♂ and ♀ of F.Br.S. and D. and of F.Sis. S. and D. are *MACHOKOR*, the same as their parents. According to Dorobo statements, a man is allowed to marry his F. Sis. D.D.—his *machokor*—, but no other woman whom he calls by a relationship term. [582]